

Message Text

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ORIGIN NEA-03

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /004 R

66610
DRAFTED BY: NEA/EGY:HFMATTHEWS:CEK
APPROVED BY: NEA/EGY-MR MATTHEWS
S/S-O:PSHANKLE
EUR/SOV-MR GLASSMAN
----- 103772
P 282158Z JUL 75 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 177557 TOSEC 080065

LIMDIS

FOR SAUNDERS FROM NEA

FOLLOWING REPEAT MOSCOW 10422 ACTION SECSTATE INFO TEL AVIV
USUN 25 JUL

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 10422

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652 XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR, UN
SUBJ: DISCUSSION WITH GROMYKO ON UN MATTERS

REF: STATE 170841

1. SUMMARY. DURING DISCUSSION OF SECRETARY'S MILWAUKEE
SPEECH WITH GROMYKO, HE EMPHASIZED IMPORTANCE OF ADHERENCE
TO UN CHARTER AND REITERATED SOVIET VIEW THAT ISRAEL SHOULD
ACCEPT GUARANTEES ON SECURITY. END SUMMARY.

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2. I CALLED GROMYKO THIS MORNING TO DISCUSS THE
SECRETARY'S JULY 14 MILWAUKEE SPEECH. KORNIYENKO WAS
ALSO PRESENT, AS WAS SOVIET NOTETAKER KROKHOLEV. BREMEN
ACCOMPANIED ME.

3. IN RECAPITULATING MAJOR TALKING POINTS CONTAINED
REFTEL, I STRESSED THAT DESPITE OUR CONTINUING COMMITMENT
TO THE UN, WE SEE DISTURBING TRENDS THERE WHICH MIGHT
UNDERMINE ITS EFFECTIVENESS. IN PARTICULAR, I SAID, WE
WERE CONCERNED ABOUT THE POSSIBLE EXCLUSION OF CERTAIN
COUNTRIES BECAUSE THEIR POLICIES ARE NOT POPULAR WITH
OTHERS, PARTICULARLY ISRAEL, AND FELT THAT THIS COULD
THREATEN THE INTEGRITY OF THE UN. I ALSO QUOTED THE
SECRETARY'S COMMENTS WHEN HE WAS ASKED WHAT THE U.S.
WOULD DO IF ISRAEL WERE SUSPENDED OR EXCLUDED FROM THE
UN. I THEN HANDED GROMYKO A NON-PAPER, BASED ON REFTEL,
WHICH MADE THESE SAME POINTS IN GREATER DETAIL.

4. GROMYKO REPLIED THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE THE FULL TEXT
OF THE SPEECH, AND HAVE STUDIED IT CAREFULLY. HE PER-
SONALLY HAD READ IT, HE SAID, AND SHARED MANY OF THE
VIEWS EXPRESSED IN IT. THE SOVIETS HAD HEARD RUMORS OF
POSSIBLE ACTIONS WHICH MIGHT BE TAKEN AGAINST ISRAEL BY
THE ARAB COUNTRIES IN THE UN, GROMYKO SAID. WE LEARNED
ABOUT THIS FROM THE PRESS, HE ADDED. I WILL TELL YOU
FRANKLY, HE CONTINUEJ, THAT NO ONE CONSULTED US AND WE
HAVE CONSULTED WITH NOBODY ON THIS QUESTION.

5. AT THIS POINT HE SENT KROKHOLEV OUT OF THE ROOM TO
BRING BACK A COPY OF THE UN CHARTER. WHEN THE LATTER
RETURNED, GROMYKO ASKED KORNIYENKO TO READ ARTICLE 6,
WHICH, OF COURSE, STATED THAT EXPULSION OF UN MEMBERS CAN
ONLY BE UNDERTAKEN UPON RECOMMENDATION OF THE SECURITY
COUNCIL. THE DIRECTION OF THOUGHT OF SECRETARY KISSINGER
IN THIS REGARD IS NOT CLEAR TO US, HE SAID. BREAKING
INTO ENGLISH FOR EMPHASIS, GROMYKO STATED THAT THE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY MAY TAKE A FINAL DECISION ON EXPULSION
OF MEMBERS ONLY IF THE SECURITY COUNCIL RECOMMENDS
THAT THEY BE EXPELLED. IF THERE IS NO RECOMMENDATION
BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL, THERE IS NOTHING FOR THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY TO
DISCUSS. BUT WHEN READING THE SPEECH,
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GROMYKO SAID, HE PUT THE QUESTION TO HIMSELF AS TO WHY SUCH
AN EXPRESSION AS "IF ISRAEL IS EXPELLED" WAS USED.

6. I REPLIED THAT WE ARE IN FULL AGREEMENT THAT EXPULSION
FROM THE UN CAN ONLY TAKE PLACE UPON RECOMMENDATION BY THE
SECURITY COUNCIL, BUT OUR CONCERN IS THAT THE GA MIGHT VOTE
TO EXCLUDE ISRAEL FROM ITS SESSIONS. GROMYKO LAUGHED AND
REPLIED THAT THE GA CANNOT TAKE A DECISION WHICH GOES AGAINST
THE UN CHARTER, WHICH IS ABSOLUTELY CLEAR ON THIS QUESTION.
THE POLITICAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL ATMOSPHERE, HOWEVER, IS ANOTHER
MATTER. FOR MANY YEARS THERE WAS AN UNFAVORABLE ATMOSPHERE
TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA, BUT THAT COUNTRY REMAINED IN THE GENERAL
ASSEMBLY. IF ISRAEL WANTS TO LEAVE OF ITS OWN VOLITION,

NOONE WOULD FORCE IT TO STAY. OTHERWISE THERE SHOULD BE NO PROBLEM IN THIS REGARD, HE SAID.

7. AT THIS POINT, WAVING THE CHARTER IN HIS RIGHT HAND, GROMYKO SAID THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD ADHERE FIRMLY TO THIS DOCUMENT. IN THE PAST THE U.S. WAS IN SYMPATHY WITH PROPOSED REVISIONS OF THE CHARTER PUT FORWARD BY SMALL COUNTRIES, GROMYKO ASSERTED. THIS WAS A MISTAKE. THE MATTER AT HAND CONFIRMS HOW CAREFUL YOU AND WE AND OTHER MEMBERS MUST BE IN DEALING WITH THIS SMALL BOOK, HE SAID. IT IS NECESSARY TO PRESERVE THE UN CHARTER AS IT STANDS AGAINST CALLS FOR CHARTER REVISION BY VARIOUS COUNTRIES, AND NOT EXCLUSIVELY SMALL ONES--JAPAN AND BRAZIL, FOR EXAMPLE.

8. KORNIYENKO HERE INTERJECTED THAT THE BEST THING WOULD BE FOR ISRAEL NOT TO VIOLATE THE PROVISIONS OF THE CHARTER. GROMYKO SAID THAT WAS ANOTHER PROBLEM. ISRAEL WAS WORRED ABOUT ITS SECURITY, BUT IT CAN GET SECURITY IF IT WISHES. "THEY CAN HAVE IT FROM THE STRONGEST POWERS IN THE WORLD, BUT THEY DO NOT WANT IT. THEY THINK THAT A PIECE OF TERRITORY IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN SECURITY. WE THINK THIS IS DANGEROUS; DANGEROUS FOR OTHERS AND EVEN DANGEROUS FOR ISRAEL ITSELF." I MYSELF VOTED AT THE UN FOR THE CREATION OF ISRAEL, GROMYKO SAID. NOBODY CAN SAY TO US WE HAVE CHANGED THIS POLICY. WE DID NOT CHANGE IT NOR DID WE HAVE ANY NEED TO CHANGE IT OR MAKE CORRECTIONS IN IT. IT IS A GOOD POLICY AND WE HAVE ADHERED TO IT AND WE ARE DOING OUR BEST TO CONVINCE THE UNITED STATES AND TO CONVINCE

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ISRAEL THAT THIS IS INDEED OUR POLICY.

9. I REPLIED THAT PERCEPTIONS OF SECURITY ARE DIFFERENT DEPENDING ON WHERE ONE STANDS. HOWEVER, WE CERTAINLY AGREE THAT WE FACE A DANGEROUS SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND THAT JOINT EFFORTS TO RESOLVE THIS BASIC PROBLEM ARE NECESSARY.

10. WHEN ASKED ABOUT HIS PERSONAL TRAVEL PLANS, GROMYKO SAID THAT HE WOULD NOT BE ATTENDING THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GA, BUT WOULD PROBABLY BE THERE FOR THE REGULAR SESSION. WHILE IT WAS NOT YET FIRMLY DECIDED, MALIK WOULD PROBABLY REPRESENT THE USSR AT THE SPECIAL SESSION. WHEN KORNIYENKO NOTED THAT THE REGULAR SESSION BEGINS ON THE 16TH OF SEPTEMBER, GROMYKO COMPLAINED GOOD-NATUREDLY THAT IT WAS TOO EARLY FOR HIM AND THAT HE WAS PLANNING TO SPEND SOME TIME ON VACATION IN THE SOUTH BEFORE THAT DATE. GROMYKO CONFIRMED THE TIMING OF THE SUMMIT MEETINGS IN HELSINKI, AND ASSERTED THAT IT WAS EXTREMELY USEFUL TO HAVE THIS POSSIBILITY FOR TALKS BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND THE GENERAL SECRETARY. THIS WAS

EXCELLENT FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS AS WELL AS OF BILATERAL RELATIONS.

12. IN RESPONSE TO MY ASSERTION THAT RECENT
CONSULTATIONS ON UN MATTERS BETWEEN US HAVE BEEN VERY
USEFUL AND THAT WE SHOULD CONSULT FURTHER ON QUESTIONS
TO BE RAISED AT THE GA SPECIAL SESSION, GROMYKO
SAID THAT THE USSR WOULD WELCOME SUCH TALKS AND THAT
WE SHOULD NOT RESTRICT OURSELVES TO CONSULTATIONS
ON THE SPECIAL SESSION BUT SHOULD ALSO DISCUSE THE
REGULAR GA SESSION AS WELL. WE SHOULD DECIDE
IMMEDIATELY, HE SAID TO KORNIYENKO, ON WHAT LEVEL
AND WHERE SUCH CONSULTATIONS SHOULD TAKE PLACE.

13. AS THE CONVERSATION DREW TO A CLOSE, GROMYKO
SAID THAT IN THE DAYS OF ROOSEVELT AND STALIN THE
UN CHARTER WAS GIVEN CLOSE CONSIDERATION AND WISE
DECISIONS WERE TAKEN. TEAR UP THE CHARTER AND THE
STRUCTURE OF THE ORGANIZATION WILL FOLD.

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14. THE CONVERSATION WAS PRECEDED BY AND ENDED WITH
MUTUAL CONGRATULATIONS ON APOLLO-SOYUZ. I TOOK THE
OCCASION TO HAND GROMYKO THE ORIGINAL LETTER FROM THE
PRESIDENT TO BREZHNEV CONGRATULATING HIM ON THE SUCESSFUL
PERFORMANCE OF THE SOYUZ. GROMYKO SAID HE WAS VERY MUCH
LOOKING FORWARD TO SEEING THE SECRETARY IN HELSINKI.

15. COMMNT: GROMYKO WAS AT ALL TIMES VERY CORDIAL,
FRIENDLY AND UNUSUALLY RELAXED. HE APPEARS IN EXCELLENT
HEALTH AND WAS IN GOOD FORM AND AMIABLE THROUGHOUT. IT
WAS CLEAR FROM HIS COMMENTS THAT THE SOVIETS WILL
ATTEMPT TO AVOID TAKING ANY POSITION ON THE QUESTION
OF ISRAELI EXPULSION AND THAT THEY ARE NOT LIKELY TO
AGREE FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE WITH ANY PROPOSED
REFORMS OF THE UN CHARTER.
STOESSEL UNQUOTE INGERSOLL

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 26 AUG 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TOSEC, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, SPEECHES, RELATIONS WITH INTERNATIONAL ORGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 28 JUL 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: WorrelSW
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975STATE177557
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: NEA/EGY:HFMATTHEWS:CEK
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 XGDS-1
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D750260-0355
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t197507107/baaaaqky.tel
Line Count: 204
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN NEA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: LIMDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: WorrelSW
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 12 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <12 MAY 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <07 OCT 2003 by WorrelSW>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: n/a
TAGS: PFOR, UR, US, UN, (GROMYKO, ANDREY ANDREYEVICH), (KISSINGER, HENRY A), (STOESSEL, WALTER J)
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006